

Conservative party, Georgia, Convention, 1867

JK 2391
.C6 C6
Copy 1

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Conservative Convention

OF THE

PEOPLE OF GEORGIA,

HELD IN THE

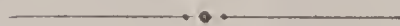
CITY OF MACON, DECEMBER 5TH, 1867.

ALSO,

AN ADDRESS

TO THE

PEOPLE OF GEORGIA AND OF THE UNITED STATES.



Macon, Georgia:

TELEGRAPH STEAM PRINTING HOUSE.

1867.

0641E48
N27 42

JK 2391

C6C6

PROCEEDINGS.

MACON, GA., December 5, 1867.

At a Conservative Convention of the people of Georgia, begun and held in the city of Macon, on the 5th day of December, in the year 1867, on motion of General A. R. Wright, a delegate from the county of Richmond, Hon. B. H. Hill, a delegate from the county of Clarke, was unanimously chosen President of the Convention.

On motion of P. W. Alexander, Esq., a delegate from the county of Muscogee, a committee, consisting of Messrs. P. W. Alexander, Eli Warren and Jared I. Whitaker, was appointed to notify Mr. Hill of his election and to conduct him to the chair.

Mr. Hill, on taking the chair, addressed the Convention as follows:

Gentlemen of the Convention:—Your assembling is auspicious—auspicious in time and in place; auspicious for our State—for all the States, for constitutional government and human liberty. When I look over this large, intelligent and venerable assembly, I am assured your deliberations will be as they ought to be; as the grave issues before you require they should be—wise, moderate and considerate, but firm, frank and determined.

Eighty years ago the fathers of the people of all these States, fresh from the common struggles of a revolution waged for the liberties of each State, assembled in Philadelphia to found and organize a Constitution and Government adapted to the condition and wants of the people, and thenceforth to be known as peculiarly American. They represented States, each acknowledged to be independent, sovereign and absolute. They found

interests common to all the States, and interests local and peculiar to each State. They naturally and wisely determined to confide to a common and federal government, the administration of the interests common to all, leaving to each State the undisturbed control of the interests peculiar to itself. They framed a written Constitution for the General Government, and in that written Constitution sought distinctly to set forth the powers conferred, and declared the common interest, the general welfare, which the exercise of those powers was destined to promote and conserve. To protect the States from encroachments by the General Government, they declared that all powers not delegated, were expressly reserved. To protect the General Government from interference by the States, they declared that the General Government, within its powers, should be supreme.

Under this happy arrangement of distinct but harmonious governments—the great American idea, all hedged about by written Constitutions—the great American safe-guards—our people grew and prospered as no people ever before either grew or prospered.

But, unfortunately, in the Convention itself, differences existed which were not reconciled and solved with sufficient distinctness; differences, too, touching the respective rights and powers of the created and creating governments. These differences continued to exist, to enlarge and to excite, until finally they culminated in a fearful, disastrous and ever to be regretted collision of arms.

After a gallant defence of her convictions, honestly entertained, and of her rights long enjoyed according to those convictions, the South laid down her arms. Every intelligent and honest man knows that the people of the South desisted from the struggle, sincerely desiring, and in good faith intending, to remain in the Union of our common fathers, as modified only by the legitimate issues settled by the arbitrament of arms. All who say otherwise, slander a frank, noble and gallant people, and they know they slander. Why, then, have we not union, and peace, and good will in union?

There is but one answer to this question: It is because the startling fact is now plainly developed to the whole world of mankind, which a few wise men always saw and feared, that there are Americans who were never satisfied with the original arrangement made by our fathers—with the idea of central and local governments, each sovereign in its sphere—and they are taking

advantage of our unfortunate convulsions, and of the passions thereby engendered, to abrogate that arrangement, and to destroy the governments thereon founded.

Therefore, the great question now before the American people—the question out of which all other questions grow—is: Shall we, can we, preserve that original arrangement? Shall we, can we, retain and continue a General Government, supreme in its sphere, but limited in its powers to the general interests common to all the States, and local governments, absolute over the local interests peculiar to each State? Shall we keep faith with plainly written Constitutions? Can we continue constitutional government? If we can, all interests are thereby saved, and all other questions are thereby settled. If we cannot, all the interests of all the people of all the States are jeopardized and destroyed, and all—States, people and interests—are hurried into wild confusion, subjected to the terrible ordeal of bloody anarchy, and bound to the inevitable destiny of universal, irremediable despotism! Negro supremacy, universal suffrage, social and political equality of races, are all issues, fearful issues, but they are all *subordinate* issues. God fixed the question of equality. Human governments must settle and protect rights. If we can preserve our American arrangements of governments, all rights—adequate, appropriate and equal rights for all races—are secure; but if these governments are not preserved, all rights and all equality for all races are gone, and all people on the continent must become the mere subjects of power, and the remediless victims of wrong and tyranny.

The party which seeks to destroy these wisely-ordered and well-balanced governments, framed in 1787, is one with which you can make no compromise without being false to the white race, false to the black race, false to the Constitution, and false to every original and fundamental principle on which the American federative system rests.

It needs no wise man, no annointed prophet, therefore, to tell you your duty. That duty is as manifest as existence, and as important as life. It is summed up in one sentence: *Hold on, hold on, hold on at all hazards and through all sacrifices, to the Constitution of your fathers.* We are called “rebels” and “traitors,” because we desire to live under that Constitution, while they who call us so, are daily engaged in the rebellious and traitorous work of insidiously undermining and destroying

that Constitution and every principle incorporated in it. They would conceal, by their words, the treason their acts make patent. They divert, by their calumnies of others, attention from the wicked measures by which they are bringing ruin upon all. Hitherto they have had the aid of the people of the North. But they have secured that aid by the most monstrous and persistent misrepresentations and slanders of our desires, our actions and our purposes.

But I am fully convinced that the people of the North—even a large proportion of those known as Republicans—do not, in their hearts, desire to do us injustice. They have oppressed because they have misunderstood. But slanders can not always deceive. Wrongs cannot always triumph. The time is coming—aye, it is at hand—when that people, undeceived, will rush to our relief and hurl from power the party that has deceived them to oppress us. Conscious that they are now a minority of the American people, they are seeking to prolong the power they acquired in passion and through deception, by adding to their catalogue of enormities the double crime of disfranchising intelligence and virtue and enfranchising ignorance and vice. Let us go on in the even tenor of our way, bravely enduring, but fearlessly making known at all times and in the most emphatic manner our grievances and our wrongs.

The Convention soon to assemble at Atlanta will be the first Convention ever held in Georgia of which it may be truly said, *it is not of the people*. I will not now review the fraudulent agencies of its call, nor the criminal purpose of its assembling, nor dissect the character of its members.

May the God of the patriot, even at this late day, flash light upon the minds of at least all who are natives of our soil, and may they yet pause before they become hopelessly recreant to all they hold dear, and to all for which their children can have hope!

On motion of Edward H. Pottle, Esq., a delegate from the county of Warren, Colonel John B. Weems, of the county of Bibb, was appointed Secretary of the Convention, with power to appoint such number of assistants as he might require. Messrs. G. W. Gustin, John U. Shorter and Harry J. Neville, of the county of Bibb, were appointed Assistant Secretaries.

On motion of Hon. Thomas Hardeman, Jr., a delegate from the county of Bibb, the Secretary was instructed to proceed to a call of the counties; whereupon the following delegates appeared and enrolled their names, to wit:

BAKER.

W. D. Williams,
I. H. Hand,
James P. Stevens.

BARTOW.

F. A. Huson.

BALDWIN.

G. L. Deming,
Miller Grieve, Jr.,
Samuel McComb,
L. D. Buckner.

BIBB.

T. G. Holt,
J. J. Gresham,
L. N. Whittle,
G. W. Adams,
E. L. Strohecker,
A. Foster,
James Tinley,
C. A. Tharpe,
W. F. Wilburn,
P. E. Bowdre,
J. B. Ross,
A. O. Bacon,
J. Russell,
T. C. Dempsey,
F. H. Alley,
E. Crockett,
D. Abraham,
George S. Jones,
J. R. Sneed,
Thos. Hardeman,
C. A. Nutting,
Alfred Iverson,
D. W. Hammond,
W. S. Holt,
M. S. Thomson,
Clifford Anderson,
A. W. Reese.

CAMDEN.

J. J. Ryals.

CHATHAM.

W. T. Thompson,
C. B. Richardson,
George A. Mercer.

CHATTOOGA.

E. Henley,
J. T. Hamilton.

CLARK.

William M. Browne,
Benjamin H. Hill.

CLAY.

Francis T. Tennell.

COLUMBIA.

James S. Jones,
J. P. Williams,
J. E. White,
William J. Steed.

COWETA.

Tollison Kirby,
William B. Dent,
W. F. Wright.

CRAWFORD.

J. P. Blasingame.

DADE.

J. Cooper Nisbet.

DECATUR.

E. B. Griffin,
W. M. Russell.

DEKALB.

Robert A. Alston,
W. L. Goldsmith,
Milton A. Candler.

DOUGHERTY.

Nelson Tift,
James H. Campbell.

DOOLY.

R. M. Owen,
Jerry Slade,

DOOLY—(CONTINUED.)

William Wallace,
 Davis S. Goode,
 R. Redding,
 T. J. Humphries,
 J. J. Collier,
 J. Hayden.

ELBERT.

E. P. Edwards.

EMANUEL.

L. B. Bouchelle.

FLOYD.

A. R. Wright,
 J. A. Stewart,
 J. W. Turner,
 M. Dwinell.

FULTON.

J. I. Whitaker,
 T. T. Smith,
 J. P. Hambleton,
 J. H. Steele,
 J. F. Alexander,
 C. Hurbst,
 L. J. Glenn,
 F. O. Rudy,
 P. P. Pease,
 W. B. Wiley.

GLASSCOCK.

J. C. King.

GORDON.

J. M. Thompson.

GREENE.

John K. Spence.

HANCOCK.

B. T. Harris,
 F. J. Pearson,
 F. L. Little,
 J. F. Jordan,
 W. J. Northern,
 G. F. Pierce, Jr.,
 T. H. Audas.

HARRIS.

J. M. Kimbrough.

HOUSTON.

Eli Warren,
 J. C. Gilbert,
 H. M. Holtzclaw,
 J. W. Hardison,
 C. N. Rountree,
 C. C. Duncan,
 J. T. Cooper,
 D. H. Houser.
 John Jackson,

JASPER.

T. C. Broddus,
 T. J. Pritchett,
 William Fish,
 J. W. Preston,
 F. Goolsby,
 Reese Goolsby,
 C. H. Greer,
 James Henderson,
 J. H. Holland,
 J. P. Stewart,
 S. McMichael,
 B. R. Ezell, Jr.,
 L. H. Lane,
 L. W. Pou,
 W. A. Perry,
 W. P. Hardy,
 Isaac W. Freeman.

JONES.

James H. Gray,
 R. W. Bonner,
 W. T. McCullough,
 M. T. Bozeman,
 Isaac Hardeman,
 James H. Blount,
 Roland T. Ross,
 F. S. Johnson, Sr.,
 Green Roberts,
 William Roberts,
 N. S. Glover,
 Leroy Singleton.

LEE.

G. W. Warwick,
 W. H. Weems,
 G. M. Stokes,
 F. H. West.

LINCOLN.

E. Lockhart,
N. Bussey,
E. J. Lyon.

LUMPKIN.

Wier Boyd.

MACON.

P. Cook,
W. P. Drumright,
John G. Smith,
Daniel Kleckley,
Charles A. Taylor,
S. D. Everett,
D. L. Wicker.

MILLER.

J. R. Whitehead.

MILTON.

J. Graham.

MONROE.

T. J. Fletcher,
W. B. Meek,
Isaac Winter,
W. C. Redding,
E. G. Cabaniss.

MORGAN.

D. E. Butler.

MUSCOGEE.

Thomas Ragland,
P. W. Alexander,
J. M. Russell,
J. A. L. Lee,
A. R. Lamar,
Thomas W. Grimes.

NEWTON.

P. Reynolds,
Wm. S. Montgomery.

OGLETHORPE.

J. D. Matthews.

PIKE.

W. O. Kendrick,
W. D. Redding,
J. P. Hanson,
J. A. Hunt.

POLK.

L. H. Walthall,
J. F. Thompson.

PULASKI.

C. M. Bozeman,
N. McDuffie,
Charles C. Kibbee,
N. W. Collier,
Robert Anderson,
A. S. Burke,
J. W. Carruthers,
G. R. Coley,
R. S. Coley.

PUTNAM.

N. S. Walker,
A. S. Reid, Jr.,
R. C. Humber,
J. W. Hudson.

QUITMAN.

D. Morris,
T. L. Guerry.

RANDOLPH.

P. L. J. May,
H. H. Jones,
W. M. Tumlin,
W. K. Kiddo,
A. J. Moye,
Charles Stanley,
Herbert Fielder.

RICHMOND.

A. R. Wright,
L. D. Lallerstedt,
William Craig,
William H. Tutt,
J. W. Bessman,
J. K. Evans.

SCHLEY.

W. J. Sears.

SCRIVEN.

E. B. Gross.

SPAULDING.

Robert A. Crawford,
Jason Burr,
David H. Johnson,
F. S. Fitch.

STEWART.

John M. Scott,
James K. Barnum.

SUMTER.

G. T. Wilburn,
T. M. Furlow,
G. W. Bivins,
Charles T. Goode,
W. J. Reese,
Charles W. Hancock,
W. A. Hawkins,
W. H. Davidson.

TALBOT.

W. A. Little,
William Drane.

TAYLOR.

D. L. Downs.

TERRELL.

Leroy Brown,
J. E. Loyless,
R. F. Simmons,
H. L. Graves.

TROUP.

C. H. C. Willingham,
P. E. L. Jennings,
H. W. Morgan.

TWIGGS.

Ira E. Dupree,
A. McCallum,
D. G. Hughes,
John H. Denson,
Robert R. Slappey,
Lewis Solomon,

TWIGGS—(CONTINUED.)

John A. Nelson,
J. E. Crossland.

WALTON.

W. W. McLester.

WARREN.

E. H. Pottle.

WASHINGTON.

John B. Turner,
R. W. Flournoy,
Green Brantley,
Bennet Hook,
J. M. G. Medlock.

WEBSTER.

George S. Rosser,
J. N. McCain.

WHITFIELD.

Isaac W. Avery.

WILKINSON.

W. E. Carswell,
M. J. Carswell,
R. H. Carswell,
W. W. Lee,
Joel Deese,
E. J. Coates,
Isaac Lindsey,
J. M. Folsom,
E. J. Massey,
G. H. Brazeal.

Colonel W. F. Wright, a delegate from the county of Coweta, moved that the delegates from each Congressional District report the name of one delegate from each district as a Vice-President of the Convention—which motion prevailed.

On motion of Major John H. Steele, a delegate from the county of Fulton, the Convention took a recess for five minutes, to enable the delegates from the different Congressional Districts to report the names of Vice-Presidents.

The Convention being called to order, the following delegates were reported as Vice-Presidents of the Convention, to wit:

First Congressional District—Major W. T. Thompson.

Second Congressional District—General Eli Warren.

Third Congressional District—Colonel William F. Wright.

Fourth Congressional District—Dr. Ira E. Dupree.

Fifth Congressional District—General A. R. Wright.

Sixth Congressional District—J. Graham.

Seventh Congressional District—Hon. A. R. Wright.

On motion of Mr. Dwinell, a delegate from the county of Floyd, citizens of counties unrepresented, and who sympathise with the purposes of the Convention, were invited to enroll their names as delegates from their respective counties.

Whereupon, Mr. Wier Boyd, of the county of Lumpkin, and J. J. Ryals, of the county of Camden, appeared and enrolled their names as delegates.

On motion of James R. Sneed, Esq., a delegate from the county of Bibb, the rules of the House of Representatives of Georgia were adopted for the government of the Convention.

On motion of Hon. J. J. Gresham, a delegate from the county of Bibb, a committee, consisting of two delegates from each Congressional District, was appointed to prepare and report business for the action of the Convention.

The committee appointed under the foregoing resolution, are as follows :

First Congressional District—George A. Mercer and C. B. Richardson.

Second Congressional District—General Phillip Cook and T. M. Furlow.

Third Congressional District—P. W. Alexander and C. H. C. Willingham.

Fourth Congressional District—Hon. Thomas Hardeman, Jr., and Daniel G. Hughes.

Fifth Congressional District—Hon. David E. Butler and Hon. E. H. Pottle.

Sixth Congressional District—J. Graham and W. W. McLester.

Seventh Congressional District—Colonel Luther J. Glenn and J. A. Stewart.

Hon. J. J. Gresham, of the county of Bibb, was nominated Chairman of the Committee.

General A. R. Wright presented certain resolutions adopted

at a meeting of the citizens of Glynn county, which were read, and, on motion of Albert R. Lamar, Esq., a delegate from the county of Muscogee, were referred to the appropriate Committee.

Hon. A. R. Wright, of the county of Floyd, presented certain resolutions in reference to our Federal relations and the duty of the people of Georgia growing out of the Reconstruction Acts of Congress, which were read.

Hon. Thomas Hardeman, Jr., moved that the resolutions presented by Judge Wright, and all others of like character, which may be presented to the Convention, be referred to the Committee on Business without discussion and without being read, which motion prevailed.

A telegram was read, announcing to the Convention, that General Browne and Colonel Matthews, delegates from the counties of Oglethorpe and Clarke, would arrive to-night.

On motion, the Convention adjourned to 3 o'clock, P. M.

THREE O'CLOCK, P. M.

The Convention met at 3 o'clock, P. M., pursuant to adjournment.

The President announced that notification had been received from the Committee on Business, that they would not be prepared to submit their report before 4 o'clock.

Whereupon, the Hon. A. R. Wright, General A. R. Wright and the President, in answer to respective calls made upon them, addressed the Convention upon the political questions of the day.

Messrs. P. P. Pease, of Fulton, John A. Nelson, of Twiggs, and Hon. E. G. Cabaniss and William C. Redding, Esq., of the county of Monroe, appeared and were enrolled as delegates.

The Committee on Business having returned to the Hall of the Convention, submitted, through their Chairman, Hon. J. J. Gresham, certain resolutions, with an accompanying address to the people of Georgia; pending the consideration of which, on motion of Albert R. Lamar, Esq., of Muscogee, the Convention adjourned until 7 o'clock, P. M.

SEVEN O'CLOCK, P. M.

The Convention assembled at 7 o'clock, P. M., and resumed the unfinished business of the last adjournment, which was the consideration of the report of the Committee on Business.

Dr. John Jackson, of the county of Houston, appeared and was enrolled as a member of the Convention.

Pending the consideration of the report of the Committee, the Hon. A. R. Wright moved that the same be recommitted, and upon this motion, J. R. Whitehead, Esq., of the county of Miller, called for the previous question, which being sustained, the main question was ordered to be put, and the motion to recommit prevailed.

On motion of Hon. A. R. Wright, the Committee on Business was enlarged by the addition of one delegate from each Congressional District.

The following delegates were added to the Committee, to wit :

First Congressional District—W. T. Thompson.

Second Congressional District—T. L. Guerry.

Third Congressional District—J. A. L. Lee.

Fourth Congressional District—T. G. Holt.

Fifth Congressional District—A. R. Wright.

Sixth Congressional District—Isaac W. Avery.

Seventh Congressional District—J. P. Hambleton.

Mr. W. A. Little, of the county of Talbot, moved that the speeches of members in debate be limited to five minutes, which motion prevailed.

The Convention then adjourned to 10 o'clock, Friday morning.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 6, 10 O'CLOCK, A. M.

The Convention met at 10 o'clock, A. M., pursuant to adjournment.

On motion of James R. Sneed, Esq., the rules were suspended, and Dr. Ira E. Dupree submitted the following resolutions, to wit :

Whereas, The prosperity and happiness of any people depend upon a well regulated agricultural system of labor, as well as a good government ; and

Whereas, We, the people of the South, have, by the fate of war, experienced a change unparalleled in our social, financial and political condition ; and

Whereas, We have, with praiseworthy zeal in effort and enterprise, used every energy to restore our broken fortunes, maintain confidence in public faith, and build up a prosperous future for our beloved country ; and

Whereas, We have, for the last two years, cultivated large areas of worn out and unproductive lands by much hired labor, obtained at high prices ; and

Whereas, By such a system, we have, instead of increased wealth and resources, grown poorer, each year diminishing our means ; and

Whereas, Cotton has fallen below the cost of its production ; and

Whereas, The United States Government has unfairly and unjustly taxed its production two-and-a-half cents per pound—a tax unfair and unjust because its burden is on the South only, thus lessening our profits and throwing obstacles in the way of large production ; and

Whereas, We now see, by two years trial, that the freedmen are lazy, indolent, and will not work so long as the Radical party holds out to them prospects, without cost, of landed homes, and equality in the government, at the same time demanding exorbitant remuneration ; and

Whereas, We have, by the emancipation of our slaves and the burdens of taxation, lost control of cotton in the markets of the commercial world, and can no longer successfully compete with

other nations, and are now a third power in its production ; and

Whereas, Our lands are exhausted and worthless, provisions scarce and high ; and

Whereas, The price of cotton is too low to warrant the purchase of fertilizers ; in order, therefore, to produce a wise and safe policy for the good of all classes, giving to the laborer his due reward and proper status, to advance the prosperity and happiness of all, and build up our ruined condition :

Be it Resolved, It is the sense of this Convention, that we must change our mode of cultivation ; we must abandon the cultivation of large worn-out farms, cultivate little cotton, increase the production of cereals, improve our stock, and make our means of support at home, and above all, we must abandon the ruinous policy of the employment of many hired laborers and work more ourselves, practice a close economy, avoid debt, cultivate only the best spots of our land, and let the exhausted acres remain uncultivated. It is only by small farms, well cultivated, that we can live and restore our fallen country to its wonted political, financial, social and religious condition.

On motion of Milton A. Candler, Esq., of DeKalb, the foregoing resolutions were laid on the table for the present.

Mr. Gresham, from the Committee on Business, submitted the following preamble and resolutions, which were read, to wit :

PREAMBLE AND RESOLUTIONS.

We, the delegates of the people of Georgia, in Convention assembled, recognizing our obligations to support the General Government in all legal and proper measures, and claiming from that Government the due performance of the reciprocal duty to extend to us, in common with all the people of our whole country, the protection guaranteed by the Constitution of our forefathers, do declare and affirm that manly protest against bad public policy is the duty, as well as the right, of every American citizen : and this, without factious opposition to government, or untimely interruption of public harmony. The season for honest discussion of principles, and for lawful opposition to existing abuses and their growth, is ever present and pressing.

The Southern people are true to constitutional liberty, and ready to acquiesce in any policy looking to the honor and good of the whole country, and securing the rights of all classes of people.

We regard the efforts of the present ruling power to change the fundamental institutions of the United States Government, as false in principle, impolitic in action, injurious in result, unjust to the South, and detrimental to the General Government.

Silence under wrong may be construed as endorsement. Be it, therefore,

Resolved, 1st, That we recognize the duty to sustain law and order, to support cheerfully all constitutional measures of the United States Government, and to maintain the rights of all classes of people under enlightened and liberal laws.

Resolved, 2d, That the people of Georgia accept, in good faith, the legitimate results of the late war, and renew the expression of their allegiance to the Union of the States, and reiterate their determination to maintain inviolate the Constitution framed by the fathers of the Republic.

Resolved, 3d, That we protest, dispassionately, yet firmly, against what is known as the Reconstruction Acts of Congress, and against the vindictive and partisan administration of those Acts, as wrong in principle, oppressive in action, and ruinous to the States of the South, as well as hurtful to the true welfare of every portion of our common country, and leading directly, if not intentionally, to the permanent supremacy of the negro race in all those States where those laws are now being enforced.

Resolved, 4th, That we protest, in like spirit and manner, against the policy of the dominant party in Congress, which seeks to inflict upon the States of the South permanent bad government, as a wrong not only to all races in the South, and to the people of all parts of the Union, but a crime against civilization, which it is the duty of all right-minded men everywhere to discountenance and condemn.

Resolved, 5th, That we enter on record, in the name and behalf of the people of this State, this, our solemn protest, against the assembling of a Convention, which we affirm, with evidence before us, has been ordered under pretence of votes which were illegally authorized, forcibly procured, fraudulently received, and falsely counted, as we believe. And, in view of the solemn responsibilities of the issues involved, we do hereby declare that we will forever hold the work of framing a Constitution by such authority, with intent to be forced, by military power, on the free people of this ancient Commonwealth, as a crime against our

people, against the continuance of free government, against the peace of society, against the purity of the ballot box, and against the dignity and character of representative institutions.

Resolved, 6th, That a Central Executive Committee of fifteen be appointed by the President of this Convention, at his convenience; and that said Committee be authorized to call Conventions of the Conservative party of Georgia as often as the same may be necessary, and, also, to appoint sub-committees in the several counties of this State, and to take such other steps as may be proper to carry out the policy of this Convention.

Resolved, 7th, That in view of contingencies that may hereafter arise, it is made the further duty of said Executive Committee to address the people of the State, and indicate, at the proper time, the policy, which, in their judgment, may then be deemed best adapted to subserve and promote the public good.

Resolved, 8th, That this Convention do earnestly recommend to the Conservative men in each county of the State to organize at once, and report their organization to the Central Executive Committee.

Resolved, 9th, That Herschel V. Johnson, Absalom H. Chappell, Benj. H. Hill, Warren Akin and T. L. Guerriy, be appointed a committee to prepare and publish an address to the people of Georgia and of the United States, setting forth the true sentiments of the white race in this State, the deplorable condition of our people, and the ruin which the enforcement of the Reconstruction Acts of Congress will bring upon all classes in the South.

On motion of James A. Nisbet, Esq., of the county of Bibb, *the preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted.*

On motion, the rules were further suspended, and Mr. Reynolds, of Newton, reported the following resolutions, which were taken up and unanimously agreed to, to wit:

Resolved, That we tender our thanks and grateful acknowledgments to the Conservatives of the Northern and Western States, who are battling to sustain the Constitution of our fathers and the supremacy of the white race. And we hail as true friends of constitutional liberty, all those of every section who stand by the right of the States, alone, to confer suffrage and fix its conditions.

Resolved, That our warmest gratitude and most heartfelt thanks are hereby tendered to the benevolent friends at the

North and West, who sent their contributions so generously to our suffering people during the past and present year, and we pray that a gracious Providence will vouchsafe that they may gather up their bread thus cast upon the waters a hundred fold, in days to come.

P. W. Alexander, Esq., of Muscogee, submitted the following resolution, which was read and adopted, to wit:

Resolved, That 5,000 copies of the official Proceedings of this Convention, together with the Address hereafter to be prepared, be published in pamphlet form, and turned over to the Executive Committee, for general distribution throughout the State; and that contributions be requested from the delegates of the Convention, to defray the expense of publication.

On motion of Albert R. Lamar, Esq., of Muscogee, the Convention adjourned *sine die*.

Before announcing the vote upon the question of adjournment, the President addressed the Convention as follows:

Gentlemen of the Convention: Before pronouncing this Convention adjourned, I hope you will pardon me the liberty of a parting word.

Your work in Convention is done, and well done. It will carry gladness to the hearts of your constituents, and inspire hope for your children. And thousands of noble and true men far away, and throughout the North, will read the words of manliness and patriotism which you have this day pronounced, and will rejoice and take courage.

Too long have the Southern people been traduced, their motives maligned, and their purposes misrepresented. And by whom? By those who had closed their mouths, and denied them the opportunity of being heard in either refutation or explanation. Too long have the faithful defenders of the Constitution and of our rights under the Constitution, been compelled to stand in the breach and wage the battle in our behalf without the encouragement of a word from their victims of the bayonet. At last you have spoken, and every word you have uttered, and every meaning you have felt or expressed, brands the charges of your enemies and oppressors as slanderous and traitorously false.

Never, my friends, be afraid of the truth. Never be afraid to speak, to act, to defend the truth. In proportion as you have been maligned, the Constitution has been tattered and torn.

Too long have you been absent from the Councils of the Nation, and during that absence, the Constitution has been disregarded, despoiled, trampled upon and cast out. And how, with glad hearts and glorious welcome, the true friends of liberty will hail your coming again! And you will return with an earnest purpose to aid those whom you have left too long in unequal contest, in restoring the Constitution of our fathers and the prosperity of our common country. Do not be discouraged. Stand by the Constitution, and the day of your restoration and its triumph is sure and near.

True, your work in Convention has ended, but the great work has yet to be accomplished. Go home, and as you go, and when you go, speak words of encouragement and counsel to your neighbors. Let it be in your hearts, in your actions, in your determinations, that this fair land in which we were born and reared, ought not, need not and *shall* not be brought under the dominion of the negro and destroyed as the heritage of our children.

Organize, in every county, organize. Not in secret, hidden conclaves as those who do evil, but in the open daylight and before the eyes of men, for the sun in the clearest hour of his noon, is not brighter than the glorious purpose which moves you and the high work which you seek to accomplish.

You represent a people who know what sufferings mean. They have lost their property, and buried their children and comrades; they have seen their cities burned and their country laid waste; even now they see their industry paralyzed and their fields lying idle, while their coffers are exhausted and their garners are empty. But, thank God! *Georgians are honorable yet*, and beaming in your face and sparkling from your eyes I read the firm resolve that Georgians shall ever be honorable! You have indulged no spirit of hate and engaged in no personal animadversions. You have organized no party for spoils, for you are saving a country for your children.

Earnestly hoping that when we meet again we shall still be able to say we have a country worthy of our fathers, worthy of their children and worthy for our children, and with a Constitution supreme over all its enemies, I now pronounce this Convention adjourned without a day.

BENJ. H. HILL, *President.*

JOHN B. WEEMS, *Secretary.*

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The President made the following appointments in conformity to the sixth resolution :

MACON, GA., Dec. 7, 1867.

By authority of the sixth resolution adopted by the Conservative Convention of the People of Georgia, assembled by delegates in this city on the 5th instant, the following gentlemen are hereby appointed and will constitute the "Central Executive Committee," ordered by that resolution :

E. G. CABANISS, of Monroe, Chairman.
EUGENIUS A. NISBET, of Bibb,
JOHN J. GRESHAM, of Bibb,
JAMES JACKSON, of Bibb,
GEORGE W. ADAMS, of Bibb,
L. N. WHITTLE, of Bibb,
JAMES R. SNEED, of Bibb,
ANDERSON W. REESE, of Bibb,
A. R. WRIGHT, of Richmond,
JULIAN HARTRIDGE, of Chatham,
NELSON TIFT, of Dougherty,
P. W. ALEXANDER, of Muscogee,
JARED I. WHITAKER, of Fulton,
J. W. A. JOHNSTON, of Whitfield,
SUMNER J. SMITH, of Banks.

In accordance with the manifest meaning of the resolution, this Committee, for efficient and prompt action, is made central. It is respectfully suggested that the Committee should, at an early day, organize, and appoint sub-committees for the different sections of the State.

The gentlemen appointed will please accept the publication of this order as a notice to each of his appointment.

BENJ. H. HILL.

AN ADDRESS

TO THE

PEOPLE OF GEORGIA AND OF THE UNITED STATES.

Fellow-Citizens of Georgia and of the United States:

By a Convention held at Macon, on the 5th and 6th of December, 1867, representing the Conservative people of Georgia, the undersigned were appointed a Committee to prepare an Address to you, setting forth their sentiments, their condition, their fearful apprehension of future ruin, and the final overthrow of constitutional government. In discharging this important duty, we bring to the task an earnest and patriotic desire, not only to promote the welfare of our own State, but also that of our whole country.

When the late unhappy war terminated and the Confederate arms were surrendered, a single condition only was required, which was that we should return to the pursuits of peace and obey the Constitution and laws of the United States, under the pledge, by the victors, that, so long as we continued to do so, we should be protected in the unmolested enjoyment of the rights and privileges which that Constitution and those laws guarantee to each State and to every citizen. We have kept our promise in letter and in spirit; and, from that day to this, no resistance has been offered to the Federal authorities. The laws of the United States are quietly obeyed, without the necessity of military power to enforce them. Their Courts are open and their processes respected. Crime can be punished by the regular and established modes of judicial procedure. With magnanimity and hopefulness, our people united in an earnest effort to build up their ruined fortunes and re-establish their lost prosperity. The war left our homes saddened with bereavement, and, in

thousands of instances, in ashes. It brought universal sorrow and poverty. Our fields were desolated, our labor disorganized, our industry paralyzed, all our enterprises destroyed or crippled, and our capital sunk. Towns and cities were plundered and burned, and their inhabitants driven, in destitution, from their homes. But these were the fruits of war—not legitimate, to be sure—such, however, as usually attends its march of fire; and, therefore, we submitted to them with patience and fortitude, cheered by the hope, that the quarrel and carnage having ended, the return of peace and prosperity would begin, and that, at least, *political* fraternity would be restored. Under this inspiration we endeavored to forget the bitterness which the struggle had engendered, to cultivate a spirit of conciliation and harmony, and to evince, in every possible way, our desire to have Georgia restored to her constitutional relation to the Union. Terrible has been our disappointment. Having been baffled in the attempt at secession, upon the idea that such attempt was *rebellion*, we supposed that its suppression left Georgia a State *in* the Union, still possessing the inherent right of self-government and the constitutional right of representation in Congress. Instead of this, however, the President of the United States required that we should organize a new State government, ratify the Constitutional Amendment, abolishing slavery and incorporating the same provision into our fundamental law; that we should repudiate our State war debt and abrogate the Ordinance of Secession and all the laws in furtherance of the Confederate cause. Animated by a determination to make any sacrifice but that of honor, suppressing even the spirit of complaint, for the sake of peace, we did all that he required—even surrendering our most valuable property, that of our slaves—and consented to become almost paupers. Supposing that such deportment might challenge the magnanimity of the victors towards a fallen foe, we then thought, surely the dawn of peace was in sight, and that our right to the protection and benefits of a common Constitution would be recognized. We elected our Senators and Representatives, thus demonstrating, not only our expectation, but also our earnest desire, again to participate in the councils and promised blessings of the Union restored. But, as before, disappointment was our fate. Our members were spurned from the halls of Congress and our people denounced as traitors and rebels. We have been persistently charged with hostility to the

Constitution and Union, and treated as outlaws from both. Whilst we do not thus allude to the deportment and temper of our people in a spirit of boasting, yet we challenge contradiction of our statements, and fearlessly array them before a candid world, as evidence of the injustice, unkindness and falsehood of the charges against us, urged as a pretext for our oppression.

Proscription from the Union we could endure ; the charge of hostility to it were tolerable ; from our prostration we might rise ; our poverty we might surmount if we could be left undisturbed and permitted to enjoy our inherent right of self-government. Our noble State abounds with the elements and resources of material wealth ; her people are enterprising and full of the consciousness of unsullied honor and unsubdued manhood. Give play to their capacities, unfetter their elastic energies, remove unnecessary and unjust burdens from their labor, and they will achieve prosperity for themselves and the blessings of exalted civilization for their posterity. But our oppressors are not willing to do this. They claim to make us the victims of their political policy—worse than that—they require us to be instrumental in executing that policy, upon the peril of their vengeance ; that a proud and gallant people, upon whose honor none but the tongue of slander ever breathed aught of shame—their own brethren by race, their ancestry and by political ties—shall vote for their own degradation or forfeit the rights of free American citizens. Demand after demand having been made and submitted to, with as much complacency as a generous people could bring to the performance of humiliating duty, the scheme proposed by the Military Acts for Reconstruction is the bitter chalice offered to our lips, as the maximum of the victor's magnanimity, which we are to drink to the dregs, on pain of political death for refusal. But, in our anxiety for friendship and good government, we did not dash it hastily from us. On its face it *professed* to respect our wishes ; it proposed that we should vote freely, for or against it—accept or reject it—and thus, by implication at least, invited us to examine and consider it. We did so, in the light of the Constitution, and we found not one word in that instrument to warrant the passage of the Reconstruction Acts. They rest upon the assumption that Congress has the power to CONSTRUCT GOVERNMENTS for the States. They abrogate the Government of Georgia, which *the people* organized in deference to the President's wishes, and, in its stead,

place us under a Military Governor, clothed with the power of despotism, under which the sovereignty of the people is ignored and the principles of *Magna Charta*, incorporated into the Constitution for the security of property, life and liberty, are trodden under foot. They disfranchise a large portion of the most intelligent and virtuous citizens, as a punishment for alleged crime of which they have not been legally convicted, and confer universal suffrage upon the emancipated negroes. Hence, the Congressional scheme is not only violative of the Constitution, but grossly cruel and unjust, and devoid of that far-seeing and comprehensive statesmanship which seeks good government, in contradistinction to partisan ascendancy. For who can fail to see that those Acts must lead, and were intended to lead to *negro supremacy*? Else why such disfranchisement of the white as to throw the power of the ballot-box into the control of the enfranchised black race?

Such is obviously their design, deduced from their letter and spirit, not denied by their authors and fully illustrated by the manner of their enforcement. Having placed us under military law, and tolerating our organized government as merely provisional, its civil officers were compelled to support them, on pain of dismissal. Judges and other officers were deposed for refusing to violate the Constitution and laws which they had sworn to obey and execute; all civil and military officers were ordered to publish their legal advertisements in such papers only as sustained the Congressional scheme. Thus the purity and independence of our judiciary have been polluted and stricken down, and the sanctity of the jury-box desecrated by compelling jury lists to be made up of whites and blacks indiscriminately; and thus the liberty of the press is fettered and tolerated at the will of the District Commander and Military Governor of the State. To these we might add numerous instances of the violation of personal liberty, by arrests without legal accusation or warrant, and imprisonment without an impartial and public trial by jury. In consideration, therefore, that the establishment of *negro supremacy* was their intention, and that, from the mode of their enforcement, it would inevitably be consummated, we firmly and deliberately opposed the Reconstruction Acts, as most compatible with our self-respect and our duty to the dead and the living—to the present and future generations.

But power has, thus far, triumphed over reason, justice and

right; and the Convention provided for, representing negroes only, with the exception of a few thousand whites, now sits, to crystalise into constitutional forms the policy of bringing the State of Georgia under the dominion of *negro supremacy*. It is without parallel in the annals of the world. For although history furnishes instances of abolition, yet it affords no example of an attempt, by military force, to elevate the emancipated slave above his recent master, to subordinate the superior to the inferior race, and clothe the latter with the political power of the State. It is the most outrageous policy ever advocated by a Christian people. It should arrest the alarmed attention of every friend of constitutional government throughout the Union, as it must awaken the astonishment of the civilized world. The perpetration of such monstrous wrong has been reserved for the dominant power now controlling the destiny of this country—for men, *sworn* to support and obey the Constitution of a government professedly deriving, as a fundamental principle, “its just powers from the consent of the governed.”

Fellow-Citizens: Shall *negro supremacy* be permanently enthroned in the State of Georgia? Shall ten States of this Union be surrendered, at the point of the bayonet, to the dominion of the African race? Shall eight millions of whites be subjected to the rule of four millions of blacks? Shall they become our Magistrates, our Legislators, our Judges, our Governors, and Representatives in Congress? Shall seven hundred thousand ignorant negroes, who can neither read nor write, who know nothing of the principles of the Constitution or of legislation, agrarians by instinct, and taught by political drill-masters that they have injuries to avenge against the white race, be admitted to the ballot-box? These are the momentous questions which demand solution and disturb the peace and harmony of our country. If they are to be decided affirmatively, what pen or tongue can portray the direful calamities which we shall reap at no distant day? The present derangement of Government will continue to grow worse, our material prosperity, already arrested, will be destroyed forever; society, already shocked by sudden and forced changes, will be thrown into the most deplorable condition of insecurity, and property, life and liberty will be exposed to irremediable peril.

If our silence, in the past, has been construed into apathy and indifference, then we have been greatly misapprehended. We

have submitted, almost without complaint, because every whisper of protest has been construed into disloyalty by our oppressors.

We have offered the feeble opposition of scarcely uttered remonstrance, only because outnumbered at the ballot-box, and therefore impotent for successful resistance. The Conservative people of Georgia feel that tame submission has ceased to be a virtue, and has become a crime against their country, their race and future generations. The ruthless arm of unhallowed power may enslave and degrade them, but they will never, by word or deed, active or passive, consent to the outrage offered to their manhood, but they will struggle against it by every legitimate means which they can command. They appeal to the friends of constitutional government throughout the land to rally to its rescue from the grasp of relentless centralism.

It is the province of enlightened statesmanship to search for the cause of political maladies, with a view to their removal. It is easy for any candid observer to detect the origin of those existing evils which threaten such calamity to our country. We have previously remarked, that the Reconstruction Acts assume that Congress has the power to *construct* governments for the proscribed States. This assumption is the fruitful parent of all our political troubles. It is not pretended that the authority is to be found in the Constitution; on the contrary, it is asserted to be *outside* of the Constitution. This is an admission of the nullity of the whole scheme.

How can Congress act outside of the Constitution? Outside of the Constitution there is no Executive, no Judiciary, no Congress—no Government of the United States. Outside of the Constitution, Congress—or rather the men who compose it—have no more authority than any other body of individuals voluntarily assembled. Outside of the Constitution, they have no commission to legislate upon any subject, for any purpose or in any manner whatsoever. Every act, outside of the Constitution is usurpation and utterly void. What vitality, then, can there be in a State government, constructed in pursuance of laws passed by authority, claimed to be outside of the Constitution? How long can it stand, after the bayonets that prop it up shall have been removed? It is a fabric without foundation and must fall. These are all self-evident propositions, too axiomatic to admit of argument; and they necessarily present, for the consideration of the people of the United States—especially the people

of those States designated, in the parlance of the day, as loyal—this grave and momentous question. If the State governments, now being *constructed* by Congress, are thus invalid and can be maintained only by *force*, are they prepared to incur the expense and hazard to liberty of a standing army, for such purpose? Are they prepared for a military despotism over ten great States of this Union, for the mere purpose of oppressing the white race and sustaining *negro supremacy*? Will it be seriously maintained that the government can retain its *federal* character and yet sustain such a policy? Will any candid man assert that it is consistent with the confessedly reserved rights of the States? Who does not perceive that it will be their entire absorption and the conversion of our constitutional Republic into an elective oligarchy, whose *will*, instead of the Constitution, will be the “supreme law of the land?” And all this for what? For the sake of *negro supremacy* over the Southern States; for the sake of degrading eight millions of white people that four millions of negroes may be forced into a status for which they are utterly unfitted. We appeal to the people of the North, who have the power, to preserve the Constitution. Are you prepared to put in jeopardy our wise fabric of government and the liberty of more than thirty millions of our own race, for the sake of enfranchising four millions of illiterate and semi-civilized Africans? “We speak as unto wise men, judge ye what we say.”

We beg to offer another view for the calm consideration of the Northern people. They almost universally contend that secession was a nullity. The war having so decided it as a question of *practice*, it is not necessary now to contest it as a question of right. Then let the assumption be granted. It follows, then, that not only the Ordinance of Secession was void, but that all the subsequent proceedings—the entire fabric erected upon it—were also void. This fabric was the State governments which were in existence and in operation when the Confederate arms were surrendered and the war was terminated. These State governments were illegal because they were built on a breach of the true constitutional relation between the States and the Federal Government. These propositions are true, upon the assumption that secession was a nullity, as insisted upon by the Northern people. It follows from them that the States were never out of the Union, and that they retained their right to continue as such, however their visible organization and constitutional rela-

tions may have been disturbed by secession. So far, all is plain and easy. The next step is the beginning of the difficulty. If these State governments were void, and therefore fell with the Confederate cause, how can their places be constitutionally supplied? Can it be done by *reconstruction*? By new State governments constructed by the President, Congress or any other power? Surely not. No department of the Government of the United States, nor all of them combined, is invested with power to construct governments for the States. Instead of being conferred by the Constitution, it is palpably inconsistent with it. The duty, and the whole duty of the United States with respect to the State governments, is clearly defined in the Constitution. That duty is to *guarantee* to every State a Republican form of government; to *guarantee* it, not to *create* it—to preserve, not destroy and then reconstruct it. Can you *guarantee* what does not exist? The very idea of *guaranteeing* a government implies, necessarily, the pre-existence of the government. And this is precisely the duty which the United States owe to each State—to support and uphold the government with which each State started in the Union, whether that start was made at the beginning or at a later period of our history. Whenever the start was made, each State started in the Union with a Republican form of government. This is certainly true of Georgia and all the original thirteen; and the admission of other States, at subsequent periods, was a confession by the government, which it is estopped from denying, that they, too, were Republican. The government, therefore, with which a State started in the Union is *the* government which the United States is obliged to uphold. It may be modified in the legitimate way—that is, by the people of the State, but always under the limitation that it must remain Republican, in form. And since the failure of secession and the decision by the sword, that secession was a nullity, as a question of practice, it would seem that each State is bound to preserve its original *relation* to the Union, as well as to have a Republican form of government. When there is a breach of either of these limitations, the thread of legality or constitutionality is dropped. All that may come afterwards is on an illegal basis and void. Such is the inevitable conclusion, viewing the subject from the Northern standpoint. What, then, is the remedy? Is it for Congress to step in and construct a new government? We have already shown that they have no such power.

But the remedy is to go back and pick up the thread of legality *right where it was dropped*; or, in other words, restore the government which was wrongfully displaced. It was not *destroyed* by secession, assuming secession to be void; its functions were *suspended* only; its offices were *vacated*, but not *extinguished*. Hence it follows, that as soon as the disturbing cause (which was secession and its results) was removed, the legitimate Constitutions of the States, which were in force at the time of secession, stood in their original vigor, and the offices of their governments should have been immediately filled by the proper constituency. This doctrine of maintaining the succession of legality in the State governments is precisely what was decided by the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of Dorr's rebellion, in Rhode Island. The duty belongs not to Congress alone, nor to the President alone, nor to the Federal Judiciary alone, but to all of them, each acting in its appropriate sphere—*it belongs to the United States*. All of the powers of the United States stand pledged to its performance—the duty of maintaining the State government with which each State entered the Union, with such modifications as it may have received by the free and voluntary action of its people, consistently with the Constitution of the United States. Whenever there is a breach of the limitation imposed by the Constitution of the United States, everything thereafter, too, become illegal and void. The remedy therefore is a *remission* back to the interrupted *legal* status. Now the late war has decided, as a question of fact, that secession broke the thread of constitutional relation between the seceding States and the United States, and that the State governments founded on secession were illegal and void, and fell with the Confederate cause. These fabrics having thus fallen, the people of the States, as a logical necessity, are remitted back to their Constitutions and Governments which existed at the time of secession. All that was necessary—all that the United States, under the Federal Constitution had the right to do—(and that they were bound to do)—was to restore those governments and constitutions back to the people. This was their solemn constitutional obligation. If it had been promptly recognized and performed, the Union would have been immediately harmonized and all political disturbance settled. The remedy therefore for present ills, and the only preventive of utter future ruin is, for each department, in its appropriate sphere, and all the departments combined—con-

stituting the Government of the United States—to return, in good faith, to the Constitution. That instrument guarantees the equality of the States in rights and dignity, and recognizes the fundamental principles that each, for itself, shall confer and define State citizenship, and prescribe the qualification for exercising the elective franchise and holding office.

In making this earnest protest against being placed, by force, under *negro dominion*, we disavow all feeling of resentment towards that unfortunate race. As we are destined to live together, we desire harmony and friendship between them and ourselves; as they are made the dupes of unscrupulous partisans and designing adventurers, we pity them; as they are ignorant, dependant and helpless, it is our purpose to protect them in the enjoyment of all the rights of person and property to which their freedom entitles them.

Conservative men of Georgia: Awaken to a proper sense of your danger! Organize for a self-protection and ceaseless opposition to the direful rule of *negro supremacy*, which is sought to be enforced upon us and our children, in defiance of the Constitution, and in contempt of the civilization of the age and the opinions of mankind.

Fellow-citizens of the North: Within the last few months, the question of negro suffrage has been before you at the ballot-box. In a voice not to be misunderstood, you have decided against it. You decided *voluntarily*. It has been decided *for us, against our will and against our convictions of what is compatible with good government and the Constitution of the United States; and decided by those who do not expect to live under the State governments they propose to establish by force*. You decided *against* it, although the number of negroes among you was too small to constitute a considerable, much less a *controlling* element in politics. It is ordained by our oppressors that we *shall* have it, notwithstanding that it will lead to *negro supremacy* over us. *We* are powerless; *you* are potent to forbid the outrage. Will you stand aloof and calmly see us subjected to this damning wrong; and that, too, when it will imperil the Republic and spread baleful disaster over every interest?

Renewing our pledge of unsullied honor and our tender of frank and manly obedience to the Constitution, we appeal to you, in the name of the Conservative people of our State, to unite together in the patriotic effort to restore and perpetuate

constitutional government. Your recent elections encourage our hope and challenge our gratitude. May truth, justice and right, "terrible as an army with banners," gathering strength in every conflict, march on "conquering and to conquer," until its friends, rescuing it from the grasp of centralism, shall restore, to its appropriate supremacy, THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, so that Georgia, together with her sisters in oppression, shall enjoy the same protection which its honest enforcement would give to every State in the Union.

HERSCHEL V. JOHNSON,
ABSALOM H. CHAPPELL,
BENJ. H. HILL,
WARREN AKIN,
T. L. GUERRY.

January 3, 1868.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 011 021 638 5